1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

polygynous household, No. 11, was maintained by Antonio Huircapan's half brother, Domingo. At one time Domingo was wedded to three wives, the first of whom he inherited from a deceased brother. In house No. 17 there lived a man who married two unrelated women by whom he begot five and six children, respectively.

Despite the presence of a native pastor and an Episcopal church, only the couples in houses Nos. 1, 2, and 10 have had church weddings. All the rest were married by customary Araucanian rites, in addition to which the householders in houses Nos. 3, 4, 8, and 15 have gone through Chilean civil ceremonies.[6] Probably because of opposition from the church there is no active medicine woman, *machi*, at Cautinche. There is a hockey field where games are sometimes played, but none of the traditional religious ceremonies is held. María Munos, wife of Pedro Llanco in house No. 9, is a trained *machi*. She came to Cautinche about ten years ago when, as an elderly widow, she married Pedro. I was told that her professional services are rarely or never called for, and she does not even have the notched post, *rewe*, which is the essential sign of a practicing *machi* (contrast Pl. VII, Figs. 1 and 2).

Although the direct authority of the church over Cautinche and its environs does not appear very great, it exerts a good deal of influence indirectly through its school. The Cautinche school, conducted under the auspices of the Misión Araucana, is taught by Juan Antinao's son. Whenever the teacher is otherwise engaged his sister, Josephina, conducts class. Pupils are drawn from several reservations (Table IV).

Ability to speak Spanish is the most striking accomplishment of the school children. In addition, youngsters learn to read a little and to do elementary arithmetic. Of Cautinche's adult population, however, it was estimated by Juan Antinao that ten men and six women spoke fluent Spanish, while the rest had only a smattering of the language.

[6] The Reverend Juan Antinao will marry in church only monogamous couples or the first wife of a polygynous husband. He will baptize any child whose parents have had either a church or civil wedding.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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The absence of a church and resident pastor provides the basis for another contrast with Cautinche. Sunday services are conducted in the schoolhouse either by the local teacher or by a visiting member of the Misión Araucana's staff from Cholchol. A small number of Carrarriñe folk have had civil or church weddings, and much of the population has been baptized at one time or another, but one sees very little evidence of intense devotion to Christianity. Two active *machis* reside on the reservation (Fig. 8, No. 26),[10] and native ceremonies are held at intervals. Only a few of the older people speak fluent Spanish, and some of the others have no command of the language at all.

Thirty-five children, from seven to sixteen years of age, are registered in the main school taught by Domingo Carilaf. There are ten boys and nineteen girls from Carrarriñe and five boys and three girls from Boldoche (see Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). School matters play a prominent part in the internal affairs of the reduction. There is, or was, an Araucanian Educational Society that met regularly, at least between October, 1933, and August, 1947. It elected officers, collected dues, and made decisions with regard to the selection of teachers, location of buildings, procurement of equipment, and related matters. Women, as well as men, were enrolled as members, and the activities of the group are suggestive of PTA affairs in the United States.

In this reduction one of the most striking differences from Cautinche is the large number of unwed adults: five widowers, eleven widows, twenty-two spinsters, and twenty-six bachelors. This must not be interpreted to imply a high level of celibacy. A more realistic interpretation, suggested by informants, indicates that under the allotment system it is becoming increasingly difficult for young men to secure enough land to enable them to support wives and families. Also because of economic pressure, a few men and women annually leave the reservation to look for work in cities or on privately owned estates.

[10] The home of only one of the *machis* is shown in Figure 8. Her house and *rewe* are pictured (Pl. VII, Fig. 2).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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871 cation. Although attendance at school is compulsory, some children attend only one or two years. Ages of children in the first year of school ranged from 5 to 11; rarely does a child attend after 15. Grading is done by readers, there being four readers; usually a child needs two years to cover a reader. In addition to learning to read children must learn to spell, write, and draw; simple mathematics and geography are also required. Learning horticulture is encouraged.

Parents do not always see the need of formal education—"We had none, and got along." When children are chided for not being at school, they not infrequently say, "Well, mama did not send me; she said she did not go to school either."

In general, however, parents are interested in having their sons attend school; they recognize a man's need of formal education in dealing with Chileans. Girls, in all probability, would receive little or no formal education if attendance at school were not compulsory. When a teacher told a man that his daughter should be at school, he replied that if his wife decided that the girl was to attend school, then he would send her; that it was not for him to say what education his daughters should have; that it was his duty to see that his boys attended school. His attitude may have been due to the custom of mothers training daughters and fathers, sons. A father said about his 18-year-old daughter who had married recently, "What do I now have of the education my girl received? Nothing! She is just out of school and marries. Her education goes to the man who married her." A teacher remarked: "I heard an old woman say today, 'These small girls know more than we old people do,' but she seemed to be pleased about it. I have heard young women blame their parents for not sending them to school."

Of 30 families whose children attended an Alepúe area school, 20 fathers and 3 mothers were able to read and write. Four families owned a book each: three, a New Testament, and one, a book of miscellaneous collections. None of the 30 families subscribed to a newspaper, but occasionally when a father or an older son went to a Chilean village he bought one there. There was no mail delivery in the area. Of 59 school children of these families, one boy had seen two motion pictures; another had seen one; the rest none.

MENTAL TRAINING

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191 In homes where both parents are Araucanian the native language is spoken. Consequently, on entrance to school, children from such homes know only Araucanian and must be taught Spanish as a foreign

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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language. Children from homes where one parent is a non-Araucanian do not speak Araucanian. There were two such homes in Alepúe: in one, the mother was Chilean, in the other, the father. Nearly one-half of the children in an Alepúe school could read and write Araucanian, having learned to do so at home. None, however, could write the Araucanian alphabet in order. (For alphabet, see Félix José, 1916, vol. 1, p. 14; and 1910, pp. 5 and 6.)

In pre-Spanish days the Araucanians had neither a written language nor pictography; according to Félix José, the Jesuit Fathers compiled the first vocabularies (1916, vol. 1, p. 7).

Both children and adults took occasion to teach me and my field assistant Araucanian. "Mapúche is easily learned, more easily than Spanish," said a little girl. "If two things are spoken of, use the word epu; if many, merely the word pu, like pu ruka. The syllable pu in any word anywhere means more than two. No, the plural is not formed by repeating the word like in mari mari and Bio Bio. If you can say kalül correctly, you will know how to pronounce all words that have lül as a syllable." Picking up an avellano nut the little girl continued: "This is the nut of the ŋefü. Now say that word: ŋefü."

In all areas informants pointed out dialectic differences between Araucanian as spoken by them and as spoken in other areas (cf. p. 7). Cooper, basing his information on Félix José, wrote regarding the Araucanian language that it is an independent linguistic family; that each region and tribal subdivision has its dialectic differences, but that these are "mostly relatively minor ones, consisting of phonetic shifts, different meanings for the same word, different words for the same meaning, slight differences in formation of plural of substantives, etc. The dialects are mutally intelligible, but in some cases only with considerable or very great difficulty." Cooper also notes that Araucanian has incorporated in it a considerable number of loan words from Quechua (1946, pp. 695-696).

ORATORY

Oratory is highly esteemed; so is the facility to speak well on all occasions and the ability to carry on a koyaqtun (p. 64). Formerly every boy was trained in all three; many are still so trained. "Boys must be trained to speak well; they are the ones that must do the talking for their families, not only in our meetings but in dealing with Chileans as well. One thing every boy must also be trained in is to carry on a koyaqtun." A boy today usually learns the formalized expressions used at the koyaqtun by listening in to elders. However,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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In teaching a child to walk, many mothers still follow the traditional custom of making a pathway just wide enough for the child to walk in between two rows of colihüe sticks. The sticks are crotched at the top and are planted a foot apart. In the crotches of each row, colihüe poles are placed horizontally and fastened. The child is taught to hold onto the horizontal poles and coaxed to move forward by its mother who is at the other end of the pathway. She will be saying, "Come! Come! Come!" A listener-in remarked, "After a child has once learned to walk by this method, it can be coaxed to walk to other places by telling it to come to get something." A young mother had recently taught her child to walk by having it hold onto a low bench, and then to take steps to keep up with the bench as she moved it forward. If a child a year old makes no attempt to walk, the mother will switch its calves lightly with nettles. The child will then take steps to get away from the sting of the nettles. 868

A toddler old enough to run away is tied to a stationary object with a rope long enough to let it move around to play. "I often tied my children to a tree at that age, especially when I was weaving." A child's first creeping or walking is not celebrated as an event; informants were amused at the thought.

Nothing was done to bring about early speech development. "If the time has not yet come for the child to talk, it will not talk; when it is old enough to do so, it will talk." At about 10 months the mother began to teach it words, usually names, such as "father" and "mother." "It is done like this—at least I did it this way," said a 65-year-old woman. "I took a piece of bread and let the child hold it while I said, 'Bread,' and then I took it away from the child. The child would laugh. Then I would show the child the piece of bread again, and say, 'Bread. Bread. Bread.' I repeated this on different days, and soon the child said, 'Bread.'" Another mother, also in her sixties, had not used the above method but had shown a child bread or maybe a cup, and said, "Get me that bread," or "Get me that cup." Other mothers had merely talked to the child, and "the child learned to speak Araucanian as it learns to speak Argentine today." Today a child 2 years old speaks Araucanian if it is reared in a house where that language is spoken. "Formerly, everyone had to learn Araucanian; our parents would not allow us to speak Argentine; we had to speak Araucanian." [191]

NURSING, WEANING

Mothers nursed their children unless an unusual situation arose, for it was believed that mother's milk aided the child in developing a 853

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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there [15 years old] spent one month in school," said a 50-year-old man. "He does the work now that I taught him to do: he planted our wheat, potatoes, oats, and peas, and looks after our cattle, sheep, and other animals." Kolupan, when young, wanted to learn to read and write. "My brother," he explained, "had learned to do so in Valdivia. But there was no one to teach me. So I taught myself to read. I looked at words wherever I saw them and asked those who could read what the words said and how to pronounce them. I can now go to the bakery or store and read the names of things I want to buy. I can read the name of the wine I want, too; they cannot sell me a kind that I do not want."

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LANGUAGE

Today, within many families and among Araucanians themselves everywhere, the native language is still spoken; a very few old persons who live in isolated regions and some very young children speak it exclusively. All persons except the very old and very young speak Spanish also. Informants, on several occasions, expressed displeasure with Araucanians who were ashamed to speak their native language within the hearing of non-Araucanians or let it be known that they spoke it. "But one old woman down there in Quilaquina is proud of our language; she teaches Araucanian words to children, or to anyone else, whenever she has an opportunity." "I speak Araucanian," said a 45-year-old man, "but my children do not. Our people are stupid today, they do not want to learn the Araucanian language or to hear it spoken." The language of no other people, including that of the Tehuelche, their nearest neighbors immediately to the south, was known to have been spoken by the Araucanians.

Dialectic differences in the Araucanian language as spoken in Chile and in Argentina were pointed out. "But it is all Araucanian; we can all understand one another." Variations in words were also pointed out. Kolupan called the rainbow wümke; other Argentine informants called it kemu or remu; in Chile kemu kemu is a ceremonial stick used by the machi (sorcerer). In Chile an olla is called challa; in Argentina, siniol. An ax in Argentina is a toki; in Chile, a kachal. A pig is *fañwe* in Chile; koañue, in Argentina. Foreign words that have been adopted are both adaptations from the Spanish and words taken over from the languages of the Quechua, Aymara, and Guarani, people to the north with whom the Araucanians traded. (Cf. pp. 356-357 for trade.) Words adapted from the Spanish are: kawallu or kawell from caballo (horse); waka from vaca (cow);

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

meant that Mapuche society is coming more and more to resemble Chilean society.

Mapuche society has been deeply influenced by reservation living, which is to say that ecological adjustments have had social consequences. But the consequences have served to shore up Mapuche social and cultural integrity. There have been some changes toward an approximation of certain Chilean institutional forms, to be sure. But what are these compared to the reintegration of Mapuche society? Economic change has been sweeping, since all reservations are presently involved in the Chilean system of cash-credit and markets. But how deeply has the reorganization of this aspect of Mapuche economy affected the social structure? What is the measure of its force? How much heat has the impact of two societies engendered, and at what levels of social structure? And how is this heat being dissipated?

The system of kinship and marriage has changed largely as a result of reservation life, but remains quite distinctively Mapuche. The political structure has likewise changed, both with respect to links with Chilean society and internally on the reservations. Religion has changed as well. Residence patterns have changed and, within the context of reservation life, household composition has become modified. But there has been no marked shift in any of these institutions in the direction of Chilean society. Educational services have brought some knowledge of the Spanish language and the Christian religion to the Mapuche, but the Mapuche continue to think in Araucanian and burn offerings to their ancestral gods.

We do find the family household operating in greater isolation from other households than ever before in Mapuche history. But this isolation is relative *only* to agricultural activities, and even then it is by no means complete. Mapuche labor under well-known precepts such as "by the sweat of one's brow" and "not by bread alone," which are largely contradictory directives of social action. A Mapuche farmer desires to eat well, to clothe his family, to live in a well-thatched house. He therefore works with one eye on the market place, and this represents a postreservation change in economic orientation. But his spirit must also be served, and those of his ancestors as well. To this end his other eye observes Mapuche custom (*admapu*). The Mapuche family has been sorted out from its lineal matrix more through the misunderstanding of non-Mapuche than by any adaptations, ecological or otherwise, which have been made during the last three-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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dictions of Guevara and Titiev what has actually happened to Mapuche society? Are not such predictions similiar to those which, on whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world?" Whether it dies from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this?

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several generations, projecting the best image they can muster of traditional Mapuche society. They *delight* in speaking Araucanian, even on those rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it *should* be; that is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian. Ritual *has* to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacrificial offerings *should* be made in certain ways—meat, grain, and liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type houses alongside their *ruka*, family life goes on within the *ruka* and the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space, serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domicile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chamal* and *chiripá*, but most of them believe that the Chilean *huaso* costume which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation. Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kepum* (a woolen homespun wrap-around), the *ekul* (today a store-bought shawl), and various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who rarely wear fully traditional garb when at home (primarily because it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in complete Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonials and fiestas, or when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are symbolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing chapters.

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agricultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet intrastructural changes indicating possible processual trends rather than culminations.

The final sentence of Titiev's monograph reads: "So, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages wil'

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Nenechen and the Pantheon

776 The Mapuche have a numerous pantheon, consisting of major, minor, and lesser deities. Respectively, these may be called ethnic, regional, and lineage deities. The organization of concepts denies significant Christian influence, but there have been, or appear to have been, inroads. Although I discuss this aspect of [177] [128] acculturation in the final chapter, it might be useful at this point to indicate the kind of change Mapuche religion might have undergone as a result of Christian missionization.

Let us say that *ñenechen* is a Supreme Being for most Mapuche. This is generally true, whether or not *ñenechen* is conceived of as the same or distinct from the Christian God. *Nenechen* is called the god of the Mapuche, and this should not be taken lightly. Outspoken Mapuche say that the whites have their god and the Mapuche theirs. It is difficult, however, to establish with any certainty how generalized this belief is in Mapucheland, for reasons which I shall elaborate later. Nevertheless, whether conceived of as the same or as distinct from the Christian God, *ñenechen's* apical position in the pantheon might well be a result of Christian influence. It is important to [191] note in this regard that *ñenechen* is called Supreme Being only when Mapuche use the Spanish language. Since it is not customary for them to render this concept in Araucanian, the ritual language, it is always difficult to discern to just what extent the Spanish rendition reflects Mapuche thinking. In any case, the supremacy of *ñenechen*, in the Christian sense of divinity, is inconsistent with much of Mapuche belief. Mapuche notions of the opposition of good and evil forces, however, provide some logical basis for the implantation of at least some Christian concepts.

Nenechen is not considered omniscient or omnipotent. He is called "god of the Mapuche," "ruler of the Mapuche," and several other terms of almost identical meaning. Often, during the ceremonial recitation, prefixes such as *chau* (father) or *kume* (good) are used when *ñenechen* is invoked. There are other gods who are sometimes identified with *ñenechen*, though most often they are not—at least not in formal ritual expression.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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framework of traditional values and institutions, and wants to change at his own pace—and mainly with respect to the acquisition of economic goods. Whatever the cumulative effect of this attitude might be on Mapuche social structure and cultural values, it is yet to be observed.

That religion is one of the forces most suited to mold the world view of individuals is recognized both by the Mapuche and by Chilean missionaries. The failure of the Christian ideal to take hold among the Mapuche is testimony to the successful integration of Mapuche society and its system of values, for religion provides the framework in which the general inculcation of traditional values, attitudes, and procedures is accomplished. Four hundred years of missionary work, economic imperialism, and even ultimate military defeat have failed to crack the hard shell of Mapuche religious morality. The Araucanian language, in which these values are expressed (and which for this reason is banned in the reservation schools), is still the language of the home. Even Chilean merchants have learned to figure accounts in Araucanian, and they inject Araucanian words into their sales talk. All preschool age Mapuche and most adult women are essentially monolingual in Araucanian, the language of thought for almost every Mapuche. Children are jokingly called "old people" because they know little or no Spanish. And during and after the few years of formal reservation school, youngsters are reeducated at home. There is a general rejection of Chilean values and procedures, patent in an undercurrent of constant ridicule and in a strong feeling of pan-Mapuche, ethnic solidarity, vis-à-vis Chilean society. Even in the sphere of economic activity, some of the traditional ceremonial aspects of economic life persist. Mapuche ritual appears both as an expression of this social and ethnic solidarity and as its single most stabilizing and integrating force.

III

Religious beliefs centering in ancestral propitiation largely define normative behavior and constitute therefore moral rules of Mapuche society. It might be said that a function of ritual belief is the establishment of limits to possible variation in social action. Where beliefs persist or change in a manner consistent with traditional values, the social institutions which reflect these beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.